

# Bodleian Shelley MSS. Re-examined : A Re-edited Text of Some of Shelley's Prose Works in the Bodleian MSS. (II)

TATSUO TOKOO

## 'Essay on Christianity'

In her *Shelley Memorials* (1859) Lady Shelley published a prose fragment from one of Shelley's notebooks entitling it 'Essay on Christianity'. When the notebook was presented to the Bodleian Library, A. H. Koszul examined the MS. of the essay (Bodleian MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 7-33) and found that her text was not always faithful to the MS. He published an accurate transcript of the MS. in his *Shelley's Prose in the Bodleian Manuscripts* (1910). The Julian editors based their text of the essay on Koszul's transcript, but they added to their text two new fragments apparently connected with the essay, incorporating one (now Bod. MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, ff. 276<sup>r</sup>-279<sup>v</sup>) in the text and printing the other (now Bod. MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, ff. 295<sup>r</sup>-296<sup>r</sup>) at the end of the whole essay as a separate fragment with the title of 'The Moral Teaching of Jesus Christ'.

There is one more fragment which seems to have close connection with this essay. It was first published in the *St. James's Magazine* for March 1876, and reprinted in H. B. Forman's Library Edition of Shelley's Works (1880) and the Julian edition. The Julian editors entitled it 'On the Doctrines of Christ'. It appeared to Forman "to be a part of a recapitulation and conclusion" to the essay, but, in my opinion, it is more likely to belong to the earlier portion of the essay. The location of the MS. of this fragment is now unknown\*.

No editor of the 'Essay on Christianity' has ever attempted to rearrange the order of its several parts in spite of the fact that the MS. Shelley e. 4 indicates Shelley's intention of so doing. The sections of the essay headed by Shelley himself with the titles "God" and "Equality of Mankind" have their own unity and give little trouble to an editor. However, the ordering of the fragments comprising the introductory part is extremely difficult, because there seems to be

---

\* There are some other theological/ethical essays or parts of an essay among Shelley's MSS. The most important of them are those now known as 'On the Devil and Devils', 'On a Future State' and 'On Miracles', but they do not appear to me to form part of the essay under consideration. For 'On the Devil and Devils' see Shelley's letter to Ollier, Jan. 20, 1821 and for 'On Miracles' see *Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin*, XXVIII (1977), 10-28.

hardly any logical or linguistic continuity between them, though they all have something common in tone. Consequently, the order I have adopted is a very tentative one. It will have to be reconsidered the moment new materials turn up.

In the Textual Notes I have recorded important variants in (1) *Shelley Memorials*, ed. Lady Shelley, 1859, pp. 254-290 (1859) and (2) *The Complete Works of P. B. Shelley*, ed. R. Ingpen and W. Peck, Julian edition, 1926-30, VI, 227-252 (J.). Spellings peculiar to Shelley (deciet, atcheeve, etc.) and slips of the pen (posess, accomodate, etc.) have been silently regularized, and ampersands and abbreviated forms (J. C., Xt, thro, etc.) lengthened.

## TEXT

[Paragraph numbers, and words, phrases, or punctuation marks in square brackets are editorial additions or emendations; MSS. used are indicated in parentheses after each paragraph.]

[1] The Being who has influenced in the most memorable manner the opinions and the fortunes of the human species, is Jesus Christ. At this day, his name is connected with the devotional feelings of two hundred millions of the race of man. The institutions of the most civilized portion of the globe derive their authority from the sanction of his doctrines and to a certain extent are [imbued by the spirit of his doctrines.] He is the God of our popular religion. His 5 extraordinary genius, the wide and rapid effect of his unexampled doctrines, his invincible gentleness and benignity, the devoted love borne to him by his adherents suggested a persuasion to them that he was something divine. The supernatural events which the historians of this wonderful man subsequently asserted to have been connected with every gradation of his career, established the opinion. His death is said to have been accompanied by an accumulation of 10 tremendous prodigies. Utter darkness fell upon the earth, blotting the noonday sun, dead bodies, arising from their graves[,] walked through the public streets, and an earthquake shook the astonished city, rending the rocks of the surrounding mountains. The philosopher may attribute the application of these events to the death of a reformer or the events themselves to a visitation of that Universal Pan who — (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 7<sup>rv</sup>*)

15

• • • • •

[2] I protest against any prejudication of the controversy (if indeed it can be considered a disputable point) as to whether Jesus Christ was something divine or no. I make an abstraction of whatever miraculous or mysterious is connected with his character and his history. Enough remains to afford a theme for amplest elucidation. (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 276<sup>r</sup>*)

[3] The remarkable consequences which resulted from the doctrines of Jesus Christ produced 20

a number of historians who eagerly recorded the uncommon tale of his genius[,] his virtues[,] his sufferings and his death. Four only of these have been permitted to descend to posterity, and these agree in the most important particulars of the tale. It is a simple tale, natural, probable, full of heart[-]moving truth[.] [E]very religion and every revolution can furnish with respect to some of its most important particulars a parallel series of events[.] (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 276<sup>r</sup>.*) 25

[4] A man of ardent genius, and impatient virtue perishes in stern and resolute opposition to tyranny[,] injustice and superstition. He refuses[,] he despises pardon[,] he exults in the torturing flames and the insolent mockery of the oppressor. It is a triumph to him beyond all triumphs that the multitude accumulate scorn and execration on his head solely because his heart has known no measure in the love it bore them, and because the zeal which dragged him to his tor- 30  
ments is so pure and ardent that it can make their very hatred sweet. Most dear to the human heart, and in all its shapes sweet and soothing is the consciousness of self-sacrifice. Not for this is the history of Jesus Christ unparalleled in the annals of mankind. The honour of the human race rests not solely on the achievements of a being concerning whom it is disputed whether he be a God or man. It is the profound wisdom and the comprehensive morality of his doctrines 35  
which essentially distinguish him from the crowd of martyrs and of patriots who have exulted to devote themselves for what they conceived would contribute to the benefit of their fellow men. (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, ff. 276<sup>v</sup>-277<sup>r</sup>.*)

[5] [T]he birth of the Christ occurred at a period which may be considered as a crisis the most stupendous and memorable in the progress of the human race. The splendour of the Roman 40  
name, the vital spirit of the [R]oman power had vanished. A race of despicable usurpers had assumed the dominion of the world, and power was no longer distributed but as the price of the basest artifices of slavery. Sentiments of liberty and heroism no longer lived but in the lamentations of those who had felt, but had survived their influence; even from these they were speedily effaced. Accumulations of wealth and power were inordinately great. The most abject of man- 45  
kind, freedmen, eunuchs, and every species of satellite attendant on a court became invested with inexhaustible resources. (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 277<sup>rv</sup>.*)

[6] The consequences of this system speedily became manifest and they accurately corresponded to the pernicious character of their cause. Refinement in arts and letters[,] distorted from its natural tendency to promote benevolence and truth, became subservient to lust and lux- 50  
ury. All communication among human beings was vitiated and polluted in its sources. The prosperity of the republic no longer excited disinterested care. The intercourse of man with man was that of tyrant with slave, the one stipulating as the price of his submission, the other as the prerogative of his superiority some personal advantage. Selfishness became a system whose

gradations were so nicely ascertained that the balance never inclined to the minutest disadvantage of the estimator. And as intellectual objects betray their pursuer more readily into situations of self-sacrifice, sensual pleasures occupied the interest of mankind[.] Hence those persons who occupied the most eminent stations in society, public opinion having lost its value, became habituated to the most monstrous and complicated perversities of appetite and sentiment. The national affections were first destroyed, the domestic affections now vanished away; man lived like a beast of prey among his fellow men[.] uniting more than a serpent[']s cunning to its deadliest malignity and venom. (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, ff. 277<sup>v</sup>-278<sup>r</sup>.*)

[7] Meanwhile other effects indirectly favorable to the progress of mankind sprung from the same causes. Good and evil subsist in so intimate an union that few situations of human affairs can be affirmed to contain either of these principles in an unconnected state. The national religion of Rome and of the Greek republics perished when Rome lost the character and privileges of a nation. It was incorporated with the ceremonies and institutions of a free people, and disjoined from these lost the by which it was preserved. Without exciting any powerful enthusiasm the Polytheism of Rome was calculated to satiate the vulgar belief and tranquillize that curiosity concerning the mystery of the Universe inseparable from the human mind. The established faith began to decline from the moment of the subversion of the republic, and lost by regular gradations from that era its influence in the world. Involved in its ruin was the important moral system inseparably connected with it. The splendid devotions of patriotism, the emulation of military fame, such achievements as Scaevola[.] the Decii and Regulus performed had fulfilled their impersonations on the scene and contributed their allotted portion to the improvement of mankind. It was time that new and more accurate maxims of social duty should replace the decaying influence of opinions which derived no sanctity but from custom and immemorial usage, and which had survived the end and intention of their institution. The speculations of the severer philosophers on the subject of moral science, contributed to mature this revolution. The [S]toics in particular earnestly assailed the popular superstitions of glory and revenge and personal prowess, asserting as the chief characteristic of wisdom and virtue, internal sanctity and inviolability of soul. The Epicureans employed other terms to express the same sentiments. The sceptics narrowly investigated the foundations of all human knowledge, and produced a systematic deliberation and independence of mind not compatible with the impetuosity of assent required by the enterprises of Roman virtue. (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, ff. 278<sup>v</sup>-279<sup>v</sup>.*)

• • • • •

[8] The preachers of the Christian religion urge the morality of Jesus Christ as being in itself miraculous and stamped with the impression of divinity. Mohamet advanced the same preten-

sions respecting the composition of the Koran and, if we consider the number of his followers, with greater success. But these gentlemen condemn themselves, for in their admiration they prefer the comment to the text. Read the words themselves of this extraordinary person, and weigh 90 their import well. The doctrines indeed, in my judgment, are excellent and strike at the root of moral evil. If acted upon, no political or religious institution could subsist a moment. Every man would be his own magistrate and priest; the change so long desired would have attained its consummation, and man exempt from the internal evils of his own choice would be left free to struggle with the physical evils which exist in spite of him. But these are the very doctrines 95 which, in another shape, the most violent asserters of Christianity denounce as impious and seditious; who are such earnest champions for social and political disqualifications as they? This alone would be a demonstration of the falsehood of Christianity, that the religion so called is the strongest ally and bulwark of that system of successful force and fraud and of the selfish passions from which it has derived its origin and permanence, against which Jesus Christ de- 100 clared the most uncompromising war, and the extinction of which appears to have been the great motive of his life. We are called upon to believe in the divinity of a doctrine the effect of which has been to establish more firmly that which it was promulgated to destroy, and they who invite us to our reason, are luxurious priests and tyrannical princes, whose [existence] is an everlasting answer to the pretensions of Christianity. Doctrines of reform were never carried to 105 so great a length as by Jesus Christ. The [R]epublic of Plato and the Political Justice of Godwin are probable and practical systems in the comparison. (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 295<sup>rv</sup>*)

[9] The doctrines of Jesus Christ though excellent are not new. The immortality of the soul was already a dogma, familiar from all antiquity to every nation of the earth except the Jews. Plato had said all that could be said on this subject; and whoever had aspired to excel this 110 mighty mind ought to have sought new information from undoubted sources. Jesus [ ? ] no pretension of the kind, and the Christian knows as little, as did the Pagan, of the foundation of this notion. The idea of forgiveness of injuries, the error of revenge, and the immorality and inutility of punishment considered as punishment, (for these [are] correlative doctrines) are stated by Plato in the first book of the [R]epublic. (*MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 296<sup>r</sup>*) 115

. . . . .

[10] No mistake is more to be deplored than the conception that a system of morals and religion should derive any portion of its authority either from the circumstance of its novelty or its antiquity, that it should be judged excellent, not because it is reasonable or true, but because no person has ever thought of it before, or because it has been thought of from the beginning of time. The vulgar mind delights to [abstract?] from the most useful maxims or institutions the 120

true reasons for their preferableness, and to accommodate to the loose inductions of their own indisciplinable minds. . . . Thus mankind is governed by precedents for actions which were never, or are no longer, useful. . . . Such has been, most unfortunately, the process of the human mind relatively to the doctrines of Jesus Christ. Their original promulgation was authorized by an appeal to the antiquity of the institutions of Judæa; and in vindication of superstitions professing to be founded on them, it is asserted that nothing analogous to their tenor was ever before produced. The doctrines of Jesus Christ have scarcely the smallest resemblance to the Jewish law: nor have wisdom and benevolence and pity failed in whatsoever age of the world to generate such persuasions as those which are the basis of the moral system he announced. The most eminent philosophers of Greece had long been familiarized to the boldest and most sublime speculations on God, on the visible world, and on the moral and intellectual Nature of Man. The universality and unity of God, the omnipotence of the mind of man, the equality of human beings and the duty of internal purity, is either asserted by Pythagoras, Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and their followers, or may be directly inferred from their assertions. Nothing would be gained by the establishment of the originality of Jesus Christ's doctrines but the casting a suspicion upon its practicability. Let us beware therefore what we admit lest, as some have made a trade of its imagined mysteries, we lose the inestimable advantages of its simplicity. Let us beware, if we love liberty and truth, if we loathe tyranny and imposture, if, imperfect ourselves, we still aspire to the freedom of internal purity, and cherish the elevated hope that mankind may not be everlastingly condemned to the bondage of their own passions and the passions of their fellow beings, let us beware. An established religion returns to deathlike apathy the sublimest ebullitions of most exalted genius, and the spirit-stirring truths of a mind inflamed with the desire to benefiting mankind. It is the characterisitic of a cold and tame spirit to imagine that such doctrines as Jesus Christ promulgated are destined to follow the fortunes and share the extinction of a popular religion. (*MS. now lost: Julian edition, vii, 145-6.*)

145

• • • • •

[11] It cannot be precisely ascertained [in] what degree Jesus Christ accommodated his doctrines to the opinions of his auditors, or in what degree he really said all that he is related to have said. He has left no written record of himself and we are compelled to judge from the imperfect and obscure information which his biographers, persons certainly of very undisciplined and indiscriminating minds, have transmitted to posterity. These writers, our only guides, impute sentiments to Jesus Christ which flatly contradict each other. They represent him as narrow[,] superstitious[,] or exquisitely vindictive and malicious! They insert in the midst of a strain of impassioned eloquence, or sagest exhortation, a sentiment only remarkable for its naked and

150

drivelling folly. But it is not difficult to distinguish the inventions by which these historians have filled up the interstices of tradition, or corrupted the simplicity of truth, from the real character of the object of their rude amazement. They have left sufficiently clear indications of the genuine character of Jesus Christ to rescue it forever from the imputations cast upon it by their ignorance and fanaticism. We discover that he is the enemy of oppression and of falsehood, that he is the advocate of equal justice, that he is neither disposed to sanction bloodshed or deceit under whatsoever pretences their practise may be vindicated. We discover that he was a man of meek and majestic demeanour, calm in danger, of natural and simple thought and habits, beloved to adoration by his adherents, unmoved and solemn and serene. It is utterly incredible that this man said that if you hated your enemy you would find it to your account to return him good for evil, since by such temporary oblivion of vengeance you would heap coals of fire upon his head. Where such contradictions occur, a favourable construction is warranted by the general innocence of manners and comprehensiveness of views which he is represented to possess. (MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 20<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>.)

[12] The rule of criticism to be adopted in judging of the life[,] actions and words of a man who has acted any conspicuous part in the revolutions of the world should not be narrow. We ought to form a general image of his character and of his doctrines, and refer to this whole the distinct portions of actions and of speech by which they are diversified. It is not here asserted that no contradictions are to be admitted to have place in the system of Jesus Christ, between doctrines promulgated in different states of feeling or information, or even such as are implied in the enunciation of a scheme of thought various and obscure through its immensity and depth. It is not asserted that no degree of human indignation ever hurried him beyond the limits which his calmer mood had placed to disapprobation against vice and folly. Those deviations from the history of his life are alone to be vindicated which represent his own essential character in contradiction with itself[.] Every human mind has, what Lord Bacon\* calls its *idola specus*, peculiar images which reside in the inner cave of thought. These constitute the essential and distinctive character of every human being, to which every action and every word bears intimate relation, and by which in depicting a character the genuineness and meaning of those words and actions are to be determined. (MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>r</sup>.)

[13] Every fanatic or enemy of virtue is not at liberty to misrepresent the greatest geniuses and the most heroic defenders of all that is valuable in this mortal world. His story to gain any credit must contain some truth, and that truth shall thus be a sufficient indication of his pre-

---

\*Bacon Novum Organum App. 53.—De aug. scien. Lib. V. c. 4. [Shelley's note]

judice and his deceit. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 22<sup>r</sup>.*)

[14] With respect to the miracles which these biographers have related: I have already declined to enter into any discussion on their nature or their existence. The supposition of their falsehood or their truth would modify in no degree the hues of the picture which is attempted to be delineated. To judge truly of the moral and philosophical character of Socrates it is not necessary to determine the question of the familiar Spirit which it is supposed that he believed to attend him. The power of the human mind relatively to intercourse with or dominion over the invisible world is doubtless an interesting theme of discussion, but the connection of the instance of Jesus Christ with the established religion of the country in which I write renders it dangerous to subject oneself to the imputation of introducing new gods or abolishing old ones, nor is the duty of mutual forbearance sufficiently understood to render it certain that the metaphysician and the moralist, even though he carefully sacrifice a cock to Esculapius, may not receive something analogous to the bowl of hemlock for the reward of his labours. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 22<sup>v</sup>.*)

[15] Much[,] however[,] of what his biographers have asserted is not to be rejected merely because inferences inconsistent with the general spirit of his system are to be deduced from its admission. Jesus Christ did what every other reformer who has produced any considerable effect upon the world has done. He accommodated his doctrines to the prepossessions of those whom he addressed. He used a language for this view sufficiently familiar to our comprehensions. He said—However new or strange my doctrines may appear to you, they are, in fact only the restoration and re-establishment of those original institutions and antient customs of your own law and religion. The constitution of your faith and policy, although perfect in their origin, have become corrupt and altered, and have fallen into decay. I profess to restore them to their pristine authority and splendour. ‘Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfill. Till Heaven and Earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law till all be fulfilled.’ Thus like a skilful orator (see Cicero de Oratore), he secures the prejudices of his auditors, and induces them by his professions of sympathy with their feelings, to enter with a willing mind into the exposition of his own. The art of persuasion differs from that of reasoning; and it is of no small moment to the success even of a true cause that the judges who are to determine on its merits should be free from those national and religious predilections which render the multitude both deaf and blind. Let not this practise be considered as an unworthy artifice. It were best for the cause of reason that mankind should acknowledge no authority but its own, but it is useful to a certain extent that they should not consider those institutions which they have been habituated to reverence as opposing an obstacle to



its admission. All reformers have been compelled to practise this misrepresentation of their own true feelings and opinions. It is deeply to be lamented that a word should ever issue from human lips which contains the minutest alloy of dissimulation, or simulation, or hypocrisy, or exaggeration, or anything but the precise and rigid image which is present to the mind, and which ought to dictate the expression. But this practise of entire sincerity towards other men would <sup>225</sup> avail to no good end, if they were incapable of practising it towards their own minds. In fact, truth cannot be communicated until it is perceived. The interests therefore of truth required that an orator should so far as possible produce in his hearers that state of mind in which alone his exhortations could fairly be contemplated and examined. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 22<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>.*)

[16] Having produced this favourable disposition of mind Jesus Christ proceeds to qualify <sup>230</sup> and finally to abrogate the system of the Jewish [law]. He descants upon its insufficiency as a code of moral conduct, which it professed to be<sup>1</sup>, and absolutely selects the law of retaliation as an instance of the absurdity and immorality of its institutions<sup>2</sup>. The conclusion of the speech

is in a strain of most daring and most impassioned speculation. He seems emboldened by the success of his exculpation to the multitude to declare in public the utmost <sup>235</sup> singularity of his faith. He tramples upon all received opinions, on all the cherished luxuries and superstitions of mankind. He bids them cast aside the chains of custom and blind faith by which they have been encompassed from the very cradle of their being, and become the imitators and ministers of the Universal God. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 24<sup>r</sup>.*)

[17]

GOD

240

The thoughts which the word, God, suggests to the human mind are susceptible of as many variations as human minds themselves. The Stoic[,] the Platonist and the Epicurean, the Polytheist[,] the Dualist and the Trinitarian, differ infinitely in their conceptions of its meaning. They agree only in considering it the most awful and most venerable of names, as a common term devised to express all of mystery or majesty or power which the invisible world contains. <sup>245</sup> And not only has every sect distinct conceptions of the application of this name, but scarcely two individuals of the same sect, who exercise in any degree the freedom of their judgement, or yield themselves with any candour of feeling to the influencings of the visible world, find perfect coincidence of opinion to exist between them. It is interes[ting] to enquire in what accepta-  
tion Jesus Christ employed this term. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 8<sup>v</sup>.*) 250

---

<sup>1</sup> See verse 21. 27. 31. 33      <sup>2</sup> 38      Matt. chap V. [Shelley's notes.]

[18] We may conceive his mind to have been predisposed on this subject to adopt the opinions of his countrymen. Every human being is indebted for a multitude of his sentiments to the religion of his early years. Jesus Christ probably studied the historians of his country with the ardour of a spirit seeking after truth. They were undoubtedly the companions of his childish years[,] the food and nutriment and materials of his youthful meditations. The sublime dramatic poem entitled Job had familiarized his imagination with the boldest imagery afforded by the human mind and the material world. Ecclesiastes had diffused a seriousness and solemnity over the frame of his spirit glowing with youthful hope, and made audible to his listening heart

The still, sad music of humanity,  
Not harsh or grating, but of ample power  
To chasten and subdue.

260

He had contemplated this name as having been prophanelly perverted to the sanctioning of the most enormous and abominable crimes. We can distinctly trace in the tissue of his doctrines the persuasion that God is some universal being, differing both from man and from the mind of man. According to Jesus Christ, God is neither the Jupiter who sends rain upon the earth, nor the Venus through whom all living things are produced, nor the Vulcan who presides over the terrestrial element of fire, nor the Vesta that preserves the light which is inshrined in the sun and moon and stars. He is neither the Proteus or the Pan of the material world. But the word God[,] according to the acceptation of Jesus Christ[,] unites all the attributes which these denominations contain, and is the interfused and overruling Spirit of all the energy and wisdom included within the circle of existing things. [It is important] to observe that the author of the Christian system had a conception widely differing from the gross imaginations of the vulgar relatively to the ruling Power of the universe. He everywhere represents this power as something mysteriously and illimitably pervading the frame of things. Nor do his doctrines practically assume any proposition which they theoretically deny. They do not represent God as a limitless and inconceivable mystery[,] affirming at the same time his existence as a being subject to passion.] (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>v</sup>*)

. . . . .

[19] Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God—blessed are those who have preserved internal sanctity of soul, who are conscious of no secret deceit, who are the same in act as they are in desire, who conceal no thought[,] no tendencies of thought from their own conscience, who are faithful and sincere witnesses before the tribunal of their own judgement of all that passes within their mind. Such as these shall see God. What! after death, shall their awakened eyes behold the King of Heaven[?] shall they stand in awe before the golden throne

on which he sits, and gaze upon the venerable countenance of the paternal Monarch[?] Is this <sup>285</sup>  
the reward of the virtuous and the pure? These are the idle dreams of the visionary or the pernicious representations of impostors who have fabricated from the very materials of wisdom a cloak for their own dwarfish or imbecile conceptions. Jesus Christ said no more than the most excellent philosophers have felt and expressed[—] that virtue is its own reward. It is true that such a[n] expression as he has used was prompted by the energy of genius, it was the overflow- <sup>290</sup>  
ing enthusiasm of a poet, but it is not the less literally true, clearly repugnant to the mistaken conceptions of the multitude. God, it has been asserted, was contemplated by Jesus Christ as every poet and every philosopher must have contemplated that mysterious principle. He considered that venerable word to express the overruling Spirit of the collective energy of the moral and material world. He affirms therefore no more than that a simple and sincere mind <sup>295</sup>  
is an indispensable requisite of true science and true happiness. He affirms that a being of pure and gentle habits will not fail in every thought, in every object of every thought, to be aware of benignant visitings from the invisible energies by which he is surrounded. Whosoever is free from the contamination of luxury and licence may go forth to the fields and to the woods, inhaling joyous renovation from the breath of Spring, or catching from the odours and the sounds of <sup>300</sup>  
Autumn some diviner mood of sweetest sadness, which improves the solitary heart. Whosoever is no deceiver or destroyer of his fellow men, no liar, no flatterer, no murderer, may walk among his species, deriving from the communion with all which they contain of beautiful or of majestic, some intercourse with the Universal God. Whoever has maintained with his own heart the strictest correspondence of confidence, who dares to examine and to estimate every imagination <sup>305</sup>  
which suggests itself to his mind, who is that which he designs to become, and only aspires to that which the divinity of his own nature shall consider and approve—he, has already seen God.  
(*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 9<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>.*)

[20] We live and move and think, but we are not the creators of our own origin and existence, we are not the arbiters of every motion of our own complicated nature; we are not the masters of <sup>310</sup>  
our own imaginations and moods of mental being. There is a Power by which we are surrounded, like the atmosphere in which some motionless lyre is suspended, which visits with its breath our silent chords, at will. Our most imperial and stupendous qualities—those on which the majesty and the power of humanity is erected—are, relatively to the inferior portion of its mechanism, indeed active and imperial; but they are the passive slaves of some higher and more <sup>315</sup>  
omnipresent Power. This Power is God. And those who have seen God, have, in the period of their purer and more perfect nature, been harmonized their own will to so exquisite [a] consentaneity of powers as to give forth divinest melody when the breath of universal being sweeps

over their frame. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 11<sup>v</sup>.*)

[21] That those who are pure in heart shall see God, and that virtue is its own reward, may be 320  
considered as equivalent assertions. The former of these propositions is a metaphorical repeti-  
tion of the latter. The advocates of literal interpretation have been the most efficacious enemies  
of those doctrines whose institutor they profess to venerate. Thucydides in particular affords a  
number of instances calculated to establish this opinion[—] Καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι  
[...] χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεύσαι ἦν ἐμοί τε ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ 325  
τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὥς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν μοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ  
δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως  
εἴρηται· (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 11<sup>v</sup>.*)

[22] Tacitus says, that 'the Jews hold God to be something eternal and supreme, neither sub-  
ject to change nor to decay. Therefore they permit no statues in their cities or their temples.' 330  
The universal Being can only be described or defined by negatives, which deny his subjection  
to the laws of all inferior existences. Where indefiniteness ends idolatry and anthropomorphism  
begin. God is, as Lucan has expressed,

Quodcunque vides quodcunque moveris,  
Et coelum et virtus.

335

The doctrine of what some fanatics have termed a peculiar Providence, that is[,] of some power  
beyond and superior to that which ordinarily guides the operations of the Universe interfering  
to punish the vicious and reward the virtuous—is explicitly denied by Jesus Christ. The absurd  
and execrable doctrine of vengeance seems to have been contemplated in all its shapes by this  
great moralist with the profoundest disapprobation. Nor would he permit the most venerable of 340  
names to be perverted into a sanction for the meanest and most contemptible propensities inci-  
dent to the nature of man. 'Love your enemies, bless those who curse you that ye may be sons  
of your Heavenly Father who makes the sun to shine on the good and on the evil, and the rain  
to fall on the just and the unjust.' How monstrous a calumny have not impostors dared to ad-  
vance against the mild and gentle author of this just sentiment, and against the whole tenor of 345  
his doctrines and his life overflowing with benevolence and forbearance and compassion! They  
have represented him asserting that the Omnipotent God, that merciful and benignant power who  
scatters equally upon the beautiful earth all the elements of security and happiness, whose in-  
fluencings are distributed to all whose natures admit of a participation in them, who sends to the  
weak and vicious creatures[,] of his will[,] all the benefits which they are capable of sharing, that 350  
this God has devised a scheme whereby the body shall live after its apparent dissolution, and be  
rendered capable of indefinite torture. He is said to have compared the agonies which the vi-

cious shall then endure, to the excruciations of a living body bound among the flames and being consumed sinew by sinew and bone by bone. And this is to be done, not because it is supposed (and the supposition would be sufficiently detestable) that the moral nature of the sufferer would be improved by his tortures. It is done because it *is just* to be done. My neighbour or my servant or my child has done me an injury, and it is just that he should suffer an injury in return. Such is the doctrine which Jesus Christ summoned his whole resources of persuasion to oppose. 'Love your enemy, bless those who curse you[, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you'—] such he says is the practise of God, and such must ye imitate if ye would be the children of God[.] Jesus Christ would hardly have cited as an example of all that is gentle and beneficent and compassionate, a being who shall deliberately scheme to inflict on a large portion of the human race tortures indescribably intense and indefinitely protracted: who shall inflict them too without any mistake as to the true nature of pain, without any view to future good, merely because it is just. This, and no other is justice. To consider under all the circumstances and consequences of a particular case, how the greatest quantity and purest quality of happiness will ensue from any action is to be just, and there is no other justice. The distinction between justice and mercy was first imagined in the courts of tyrants. Enslaved to the usurpation of these rulers mankind receives every relaxation of their tyranny as a circumstance of grace or favour. Such was the clemency of Julius Caesar who, having achieved by a series of treachery and bloodshed the ruin of the liberties of his country[, receives the fame of mercy because, possessing the power to slay and torture the noblest men of Rome, he restrained his sanguinary soul, arrogating to himself as a merit an abstinence from actions which if he had committed, he would only have added one other atrocity to his [enormous] deeds. His assassins understood justice better. They saw the most virtuous and civilized community of mankind under the insolent dominion of one wicked man, and they murdered him. They destroyed the usurper of the liberties of their countrymen, not because they hated him, not because they would revenge the wrongs which they had sustained. Brutus, it is said[, was his most familiar friend, most of the conspirators were habituated to domestic intercourse with the man whom they destroyed. It was in affection, in inextinguishable love for all that is venerable and dear to the human heart, in the names of country[, liberty and virtue, it was in serious and solemn and reluctant mood, that these holy patriots murdered their father and their friend. They would have spared his violent death if he could have deposited the rights which he had assumed. His own selfish and narrow nature necessitated the sacrifice they made. They required that he should change all those habits which debauchery and bloodshed had twined around the fibres of his inmost frame of thought[, that he should participate with them and with his country

those privileges which having corrupted by assuming to himself he would no longer value. They would have sacrificed their lives if they could have made him worthy of the sacrifice. Such are the feelings, which Jesus Christ asserts to belong to the ruling Power of the world. He desireth not the death of a sinner, he makes the sun to shine upon the just and upon the unjust. (*MS.*<sup>390</sup> *Shelley e. 4, ff. 12<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>r</sup>.*)

[23] The nature of a narrow and malevolent spirit is so essentially incompatible with happiness as to render it inaccessible even to the influencings of the benignant God. All that his own perverse propensities will permit him to receive, that God abundantly pours forth upon him. If there is the slightest overbalance of happiness which can be allotted to the most atrocious offender consistently with the nature of things, that is rigidly made his portion by the ever watchful power of good. In every case the human mind enjoys the utmost pleasure which it is capable of enjoying. God is represented by Jesus Christ as the [Power] from which or through which the streams of all that is excellent and delightful flow: the Power which models as they pass all the elements of this mixed universe to the purest and most perfect shape which it belongs to their nature to assume: Jesus Christ attributes to this power the faculty of will. How far such a doctrine in its ordinary sense may be philosophically true, or how far Jesus Christ intentionally availed himself of a metaphor easily understood, is foreign to the subject to consider. Thus much is certain that Jesus Christ represents God as the fountain of all goodness, the eternal enemy of pain and evil, the uniform and unchanging motive of the salutary operations of the material world. The supposition that this cause is excited to action by some principle analogous to the human will adds weight to the persuasion that it is foreign to its benevolent nature to inflict the slightest pain. According to Jesus Christ, and according to the indisputable facts of the case, some evil Spirit has dominion in this imperfect world. But there will come a time when the human mind shall be visited exclusively by the influences of the benignant power. Men shall die and their bodies shall rot under the ground, all the organs through which their knowledge and their feelings have flowed, or in which they have originated, shall assume other forms, and become ministrant to purposes the most foreign from their former tendencies. There is a time when we shall neither hear nor see, neither be heard or be seen by the multitude of beings like ourselves by whom we have been so long surrounded. They shall go [to] the grave where 'there is [no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom.]' It appears that we moulder to a heap of senseless dust, a few worms that arise and perish like ourselves. Jesus Christ asserts that these appearances are fallacious, and that a gloomy and cold imagination alone suggests the conception that thought can cease to be. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 14<sup>r</sup>-15<sup>r</sup>.*)

[24] Another and a more extensive state of being, rather than the complete extinction of

being, will follow from that mysterious change which we call death. There shall be no misery[,] no pain[,] no fear. The empire of the evil spirit extends not beyond the boundaries of the grave. The unobscured irradiations from the fountain-fire of all goodness shall reveal all that is mysterious and unintelligible until the mutual communications of knowledge and of happiness throughout all thinking natures constitute a harmony of good that ever var[i]es and never ends. 425 This is Heaven, when pain and evil cease, and when the benignant principle unt[rammel]led and uncontrolled, visits in the fulness of its power the universal frame of things. Human life with all its unreal ills and transitory hopes is as a dream which departs before the dawn leaving no trace of its evanescent hues. All that it contains of pure or of divine visits the passive mind in some serenest mood. Most holy are the affections through which our fellow-beings are rendered dear 430 and venerable to the heart; the remembrance of their sweetness and the completion of the hopes which they did excite constitute[,] when we awaken from the sleep of life, the fulfilment of the prophecies of its most majestic and beautiful visions. We die, says Jesus Christ, and when we awaken from the lang[uou]r of disease the glories and the happiness of Paradise are around us. All evil and pain have ceased for ever. Our happiness also corresponds with, and is adapted to, 435 the nature of our being; the nature of what is most excellent in our being. We see God, and we see that he is good. How delightful a picture even if it be not true! How magnificent and illustrious is the conception which this bold theory suggests to the contemplation, even if it be no more than the imagination of some sublimest and most holy poet, who[,] impressed with the loveliness and majesty of his own nature, is impatient and discontented with the narrow limits 440 which this imperfect life and the dark grave have assigned for ever as his melancholy portion. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 15<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>.*)

[25] It is not to be believed that Hell or punishment was the conception of this daring mind. It is not to be believed that the most prominent group of this picture which it framed so heart-moving and lovely, the accomplishment of all human hope[,] the extinction of all mortal fear and 445 anguish, would consist of millions of sensitive beings enduring[,] in every variety of torture which omniscient vengeance could invent, immortal agony. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 16<sup>v</sup>.*)

[26] Jesus Christ opposed with earnest eloquence the panic fears and hateful superstitions which have enslaved mankind of ages. Nations had risen against nations employing the subtlest devices of mechanism and mind to waste and excruciate and overthrow. The great community of 450 mankind had been subdivided into ten thousand communities[,] each organized for the ruin of the other. Wheel within wheel[,] the vast machine was instinct with the restless spirit of desolation. The most conspicuous instance of this [spirit] is revenge. Pain has been inflicted[;] therefore[,] pain should be inflicted in return. Retaliation is the only remedy which can be applied to

violence, because it teaches the injurer the true nature of his own conduct, and operates as a <sup>455</sup>  
 warning against its repetition. Nor must the same measure of calamity be returned as was re-  
 ceived. If a man borrows a certain sum from me, he is bound to repay that sum. Shall no more  
 be required from the enemy who destroys my reputation or ravages my fields? It is just that he  
 should suffer ten times the loss which he has inflicted that the legitimate consequences of his  
 deed may never be obliterated from his remembrance, and that others may clearly discern and <sup>460</sup>  
 feel the danger of invading the peace of human society. Such reasonings and the impetuous feel-  
 ings arising from them have armed nation against nation, family against family, man against  
 man. An Athenian soldier in the Ionian army which had assembled for the purpose of vindicat-  
 ing the liberty of the Asiatic Greeks, accidentally set fire to Sardis. The city being composed of  
 combustible materials was burned to the ground. The Persians believed that this circumstance <sup>465</sup>  
 of aggression made it their duty to retaliate on Athens. They assembled successive expeditions  
 on the most extensive scale. Every nation of the East was united to ruin the Græcian States.  
 Athens was burned to the ground[,] the whole territory laid waste, and every living thing which  
 it contain[ed]. After suffering and inflicting incalculable mischiefs they desisted from their pur-  
 pose only when they became impotent to effect it. The desire of revenge for the aggression of <sup>470</sup>  
 Persia outlived among the Greeks that love of liberty which had been their most glorious dis-  
 tinction among the nations of mankind, and Alexander became the instrument of its completion.  
 The mischiefs attendant on this consummation of fruitless ruin are too manifold and too  
 tremendous to be related. If all the thought which had been expended on the construction of en-  
 gines of agony and death, the modes of aggression and defence, the raising of armies, and the <sup>475</sup>  
 acquirement of those arts of tyranny and falsehood without which mixed multitudes deluded and  
 goaded to mutual ruin could neither be led nor governed, had been employed to promote the  
 true welfare and extend the real empire of man[,] how different would have been the present  
 situation of human society! How different the state of knowledge on physical and moral science,  
 on which the power and happiness of mankind essentially depend! What nation has the example <sup>480</sup>  
 of the desolation of Attica by Mardonius and Xerxes, or the extinction of the Persian empire by  
 Alexander of Macedon restrained from outrage? Was not the pretext of this latter system of spo-  
 liation derived immediately from the former? Had revenge in this instance any other effect than  
 to increase instead of diminishing the mass of malice and evil already existing in the world?  
 (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>.*)

485

[27] The emptiness and folly of retaliation is apparent from every example which can be  
 brought forward. Not only Jesus Christ, but the most eminent professors of every sect of phi-  
 losophy have reasoned against this futile superstition. Legislation is in one point of view, to be



considered as an attempt to provide against the excesses of this deplorable mistake. It professes to assign the penalty of all private injuries, and denies to individuals the right of vindicating 490 their proper cause. This end is certainly not attained without some accommodation to the propensities which it desires to destroy. Still, it professes to recognize no principle but the production of the greatest eventual good with the least immediate injury, and to regard the torture or the death of any human being as unjust, of whatever mischief he may have been the author, so long as the result shall not more than compensate for the immediate pain. Such are the only jus- 495 tifiable principles and such is the reason of law. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 18<sup>rv</sup>*)

[28] Mankind, transmitting from generation to generation this horrible legacy of accumulated vengeance, and pursuing with the feelings of duty the misery of their fellow-beings have not failed to attribute to the universal cause a character analogous with their own. The image of this mysterious being is more or less excellent and perfect, resembles more or less its original and 500 object in proportion to the perfectness of the mind on which it is impressed. Thus, the nation which has arrived at the highest step in the scale of moral progression will believe most purely in that God the knowledge of whose real attributes [has] been considered as the firmest basis of the true religion. The reason of the belief of each individual also will be so far regulated by his conceptions of what is good. Thus, the conceptions which any nation or individual entertains of 505 the God of its popular worship may be inferred from their own actions and opinions, and from the actions and opinions which are the subjects of their approbation among their fellow-men. Jesus Christ instructed his disciples to be perfect as their father in Heaven is perfect, declaring at the same time his belief that human perfection required the refraining from revenge or retribution in any of its various shapes. The perfection of the human and the divine character are thus 510 asserted to be the same: man by resembling God fulfils most accurately the tendencies of his nature, and God comprehends within itself all that constitutes human perfection. Thus God is a model through which the excellence of man is to be estimated, whilst the abstract perfection of the human character is the type of the actual perfection of the divine. It is not to [be] believed that a person of such comprehensive views as of Jesus Christ could have fallen into so manifest 515 a contradiction as to assert that men would be tortured after death by that being whose character is held up as a model to human kind because he is incapable of malevolence or revenge. All the arguments which have been brought forward to justify retribution, fail when retribution is destined neither to operate as an example to other agents, nor to the offender himself. How feeble such reasoning is to be considered has been already shewn. But it is the character of an evil 520 dæmon to consign the beings whom he has endowed with sensation to unprofitable anguish. The peculiar circumstances attendant on the conception of God casting sinners to burn in Hell for-

ever, combine to render that conception the most perfect specimen of the greatest imaginable crime. Jesus Christ represented God as the principle of all good, the source of all happiness, the wise and benevolent creator and preserver of all living things. But the interpreters of his doctrine have confounded the good and the evil principle. They observed the emanations of their universal natures to be inextricably intangled in the world, and trembling before the power of the cause of all things addressed to it such flattery as is acceptable to the ministers of human tyranny, attributing love and wisdom to those energies which they felt to be exerted indifferently for the purposes of benefit and calamity. Jesus Christ expressly asserts that distinction between the good and evil principle which it has been the practise of all theologians to confound. How far his doctrines, or their interpretation, may be true, it would scarcely have been worth while to enquire, if the one did not afford an example and an incentive to the attainment of true virtue, whilst the other holds out a sanction and apology for every species of mean and cruel vice. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>.*)

535

[29]

#### EQUALITY OF MANKIND

[']The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath chosen me to preach the gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, and to set at liberty them that are bruised.['] (Luke [chap.] iv[,] v. 18) This is an enunciation of all that Plato and Diogenes have speculated upon of the equality of mankind. They saw that the great majority of the human species were reduced to the situation of squalid ignorance, and moral imbecility, for the purpose of purveying for the luxury of a few, and contributing to the satisfaction of their thirst for power. Too mean-spirited and too feeble in resolve to attempt the conquest of their own evil passions, and of the difficulties of the material world, men sought dominion over their fellow-men as an easy method to gain that apparent majesty and power which the instinct of their nature requires. Plato wrote the scheme of a republic in which laws should watch over the equal distribution of the external instruments of unequal power: honours, property[, etc.] Diogenes devised a nobler and more worthy system of opposition to the system of slave and tyrant. He said, It is in the power of each individual to level the inequality which is the topic of the complaint of mankind. Let him be aware of his own worth and the station which he really occupies in the scale of moral beings. Diamonds and gold, palaces and sceptres derive their value from the opinion of mankind. The only sumptuary law which can be imposed on the use and fabrication of these instruments of mischief and deceit, these symbols of successful injustice, is the law of opinion. Every man possesses the power

550

in this respect, to legislate for himself. Let him be well aware of his own worth and moral digni- 555  
ty. Let him yield in                    to any wiser or worthier than he[,] so long as he accords no ven-  
eration to the splendour of his apparel, the luxury of his food, the multitude of his flatterers and  
slaves. It is because, [O] mankind, ye value and seek the empty pageantry of wealth and social  
power that ye are enslaved to its possessors. Circumscribe your physical wants, learn to live, so  
far as nourishment and shelter are concerned[,] like the beasts of the forest and the birds of the 560  
air[;] ye will need not to complain that other individuals of your species are surrounded by the  
diseases of luxury and the vices of subserviency. With all those who are truly wise, there will  
be an entire community, not only of thoughts and feelings, but also of external possessions. In-  
somuch therefore as ye love on[e] [a]nother, ye may enjoy the community of whatsoever benefits  
arise from the inventions of civilized life. They are of value only for purposes of mental power, 565  
they are of value only as they are capable of being shared and applied to the common advantage  
of philosophy and mankind. If there be no love among men[,] whatever institutions they may  
frame, must be subservient to the same purpose: to the continuance of inequality. If there be no  
love among men, it is best that he who sees through the hollowness of their professions, should  
fly from their society and suffice to his own soul. In wisdom he will thus lose nothing, in peace 570  
he will gain everything. In proportion to the love existing among men, so will be the community  
of property and power. Among true and real friends all is common[;] and were ignorance and  
envy, and superstition banished from the world[,] all mankind would be as friends. The only per-  
fect and genuine republic is that which comprehends every living being. Those distinctions  
which have been artificially set up of nations and cities, and families and religions are only 575  
general names expressing the abhorrence and contempt with which men blindly consider their  
fellow-men. I love my country, I love the city in which I was born, my parents and my wife and  
the children of my care, and to this city[,] this woman and this nation, it is incumbent on me to  
do all the benefit in my power.—To what do these distinctions point, but to an indirect denial of  
the duty which humanity imposes on you of doing every possible good, to every individual, 580  
under whatever denomination he may be comprehended, to whom you have the power of doing  
it? You ought to love all mankind, nay, every individual of mankind; you ought not to love the  
individuals of your domestic circle less, but to love those who exist beyond it more. Once make  
the feelings of confidence and affection universal and the distinctions of property and power  
will vanish: nor are they to be abolished without substituting something equivalent in mischief 585  
to them, until all mankind shall acknowledge an entire community of rights. But, as the shades  
of night are dispelled by the faintest glimmerings of dawn, so shall the minutest progress of the  
benevolent feelings disperse in some degree the gloom of tyranny and slavery[,] ministers of

mutual suspicion and abhorrence. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 25<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>.*)

[30] Your physical wants are few, whilst those of your mind and heart cannot be numbered or 590 described from their multitude and complication. To secure the gratification of the former, men have made themselves the bond-slaves of each other. They have cultivated these meaner wants to so great an excess as to judge nothing valuable or desirable but what relates to their gratification. Hence has arisen a system of passions which loses sight of the end which they were originally awakened to attain. Fame, power and gold are loved for their own sakes, are wor- 595 shipped with a blind and habitual idolatry. The pageantry of empire, and the fame of irresistible might is contemplated by its possessor with unmeaning complacency, without a retrospect to the properties which first made him consider them of value. It is from the cultivation of the most contemptible properties of human nature, that the discord and torpor and by which the moral universe is disordered essentially depend. So long as these are the ties by which human 600 society is connected, let it not be admired that they are fragile. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 27<sup>r</sup>.*)

[31] Before man can be free and equal and truly wise[,] he must cast aside the chains of habit and superstition, he must strip sensuality of its pomp and selfishness of its excuses, and contemplate actions and objects as they really are. He will discover the wisdom of universal love. He will feel the meanness and the injustice of sacrificing the leisure and the liberty of his fellow- 605 men to the indulgence of his physical appetites and becoming a party to their degradation by the consummation of his own. He will consider Εὐγενείας δὲ καὶ δόξας [...] προκοσμήματα κακίας εἶναι [...] μόνην τε ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 27<sup>v</sup>.*)

[32] Such, with those differences only incidental to the age and the state of society [in which] they were promulgated, appear to have been the doctrines of Jesus Christ. It is not too much to 610 assert that they have been the doctrines of every just and compassionate mind that ever speculated on the social nature of man. The dogma of the equality of mankind has been advocated with various success in different ages of the world. It was imperfectly understood, but a kind of instinct in its favour influenced considerably on the practise of antient Greece and Rome. Attempts to establish usages found on this dogma have been made in modern Europe, in several 615 instances since the revival of literature and the arts. Rousseau has vindicated this opinion with all the eloquence of sincere and earnest faith, and is perhaps the philosopher among the moderns who in the structure of his feelings and understanding resembles most nearly the mysterious sage of Judæa. It is impossible to read those passionate words in which Jesus Christ upbraids the pusillanimity and sensuality of mankind, without being strongly reminded of the more con- 620 nected and systematic enthusiasm of Rousseau. 'No man' says Jesus Christ, 'can serve two masters[, etc.] Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the

things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' — If we would profit by the wisdom of a sublime and poetical mind we must beware of the vulgar error of interpreting literally every expression which [it] employ[s]. Nothing can well be more remote from truth than the literal and 625 strict construction of such expressions as Jesus Christ here delivers, or than [that] it were best for man that he should abandon all his acquirements in physical and intellectual science and depend on the spontaneous productions of Nature for his subsistence. Nothing is more obviously false than that the remedy for the inequality among men consists in their return to the condition of savages and beasts. Philosophy will never be understood if we approach the study of its mys- 630 teries with so narrow and illiberal conceptions of its universality. Rousseau certainly did not mean to persuade the immense population of his country to abandon all the arts of life[,] destroy their habitations and their temples and become the inhabitants of the woods. He addressed the most enlightened of his compatriots, and endeavoured to persuade them to set the example of a pure and simple life, by placing in the strongest point of view his conceptions of the calamitous 635 and diseased aspect which, overgrown as it is with the vices of sensuality and selfishness, is exhibited by civilized society. Nor can it be believed that Jesus Christ endeavoured to prevail on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, neither to till their fields nor to frame a shelter against the sky, nor to provide food for the morrow. He simply exposes with the passionate rhetoric of enthusiastic love towards all human beings the miseries and mischiefs of that system which 640 makes all things subservient to the subsistence of the material frame of man. He warns them that no man can serve two masters, God and Mammon: that it is impossible at once to be high-minded and just, and wise, and comply with the accustomed forms of human society, seek honour[,] wealth or empire either from the idolatry of habit, or as the direct instruments of sensual gratification. He instructs them that clothing and food and shelter are not, as they suppose[,] the 645 true end of human life but only certain means to be valued in proportion to their subserviency to that end. These means it is the right of every human being to possess, and that in the same degree. In this respect the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field are examples for the imitation of mankind. They are clothed and fed by the Universal God. Permit, therefore, the spirit of this benignant principle to visit your intellectual frame, or, in other words[,] become just and 650 pure. When you understand the degree of attention which the requisitions of your physical nature demand, you will perceive how little labour suffices for their satisfaction. [']Your heavenly father knoweth that you have need of these things.['] The universal Harmony or Reason which makes your passive frame of thought its dwelling in proportion to the purity and majesty of its nature, will instruct you[,] if ye are willing to attain that exalted condition, in what manner to 655 possess all the objects necessary for your material subsistence. All men are invoked to become

thus pure and happy. All men are called to participation in the community of nature's gifts. Ye can expend thus no labour on mechanisms consecrated to luxury and pride. How abundant will not be your progress in all that truly ennobles and extends human nature! The man who has fewest bodily wants approaches nearest to the divine nature. Satisfy these wants, at the cheapest 660 rate, and expend the remaining energies of your nature in the attainment of virtue and knowledge. The mighty frame of this wonderful and lovely world is the food of your contemplation, and living beings who resemble your own nature and are bound to you by similarity of sensations are destined to [be] the nutriment of your affections: united they are the consummation of the widest hopes that your mind can contain. By rendering yourselves thus worthy, ye will be as 665 free in your imaginations as the swift and many-coloured fowls of the air, and as beautiful in your simplicity as the lilies of the field. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>.*)

[33] In proportion as mankind becomes wise, yes, in exact proportion to that wisdom should be the extinction of the unequal system under which they now subsist. Government is in fact the mere badge of their depravity. They are so little aware of the inestimable benefits of mutual 670 love as to indulge without thought and almost without motive in the worst excesses of selfishness and malice. Hence[,] without graduating human society into a scale of empire and subjection, its very existence has become impossible. It is necessary that universal benevolence should supersede the regulations of precedent and prescription, before these regulations can safely be abolished. Meanwhile their very subsistence depends on the [system] of injustice and vio- 675 lence which they have been devised to palliate. They suppose men endowed with the power of deliberating and determining for their equals; whilst these men as frail and as ignorant as the multitude whom they rule, possess, as a practical consequence of this power, the right which they of necessity exercise to pervert together with their own the physical and moral and intellectual nature of all mankind. It is the object of wisdom to equalize the distinctions on which 680 this power depends; by exhibiting in their proper worthlessness the objects, a contention concerning which renders its existence a necessary evil. The evil in fact is virtually abolished wherever *justice* is practised, and it is abolished in precise proportion to the prevalence of true virtue. The whole frame of human things is infected by the insidious poison. Hence it is that man is blind in his understanding, corrupt in his moral sense, and diseased in his physical func- 685 tions. The wisest and most sublime of the antient poets saw this truth, and embodied their conception of its value in retrospect to the earliest ages of mankind. They represented equality as the reign of Saturn, and taught that mankind had gradually degenerated from the virtue which enabled them to enjoy or maintain this happy state. Their doctrine was philosophically false. Later and more correct observations instructed us that uncivilized man is the most pernicious 690

and miserable of beings, and that the violence and injustice, which are the genuine indications of real inequality[,] obtain in the society of these beings without mixture and without palliation. Their imaginations of a happier state of human society were referred indeed to the period, they ministered indeed to thoughts of despondency and sorrow. But they were the children of airy hope, the prophets and the parents of mysterious futurity. Man was once as a wild <sup>695</sup> beast, he has become a moralist[,] a metaphysician[, a] poet and an astronomer;—Lucretius or Virgil might have referred the comparison to themselves; and as a proof of this progress of the nature of man, challenged a comparison with the cannibals of Scythia. Jesus Christ foresaw what these poets retrospectively imagined. The experience of the ages which have intervened between the present period and that in which Jesus Christ taught tends to prove his doctrine and <sup>700</sup> to illustrate theirs. There is more equality, because there is more justice among mankind[;] and there is more justice because there is more, or more universal knowledge[.] (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 30<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>.*)

[34] To the accomplishment of such mighty hopes were the views of Jesus Christ extended; such did he believe to be the tendency of his doctrines: the abolition of artificial distinctions <sup>705</sup> among mankind[,] so far as the love which it becomes all human beings to bear towards each other and the knowledge of truth from which that love will never fail to be produced avail to their destruction. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 31<sup>v</sup>.*)

[35] A young man came to Jesus Christ struck by the miraculous dignity and simplicity of his character and attracted by the words of power which he uttered. He demanded to be considered <sup>710</sup> as one of the followers of his creed. Sell all that thou hast, replied the philosopher, give it to the poor, and follow me. But the young man had large possessions, and he . . . . (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>r</sup>.*)

. . . . .

[36] The system of equality was attempted, after Christ's death to be carried into effect by his followers. 'They that believed had all things common: they sold their possessions and goods and <sup>715</sup> parted them to all men as every man had need, and they continued daily with one accord in the temple and breaking bread from house to house did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.' *Acts chap. 2, v. 44 &c.* The practical application of the doctrines of strict justice to a state of society established in its contempt was such as might have been expected. After the transitory glow of enthusiasm had faded from the minds of men[,] precedent and habit resumed <sup>720</sup> their empire, broke like a universal deluge on one shrinking and solitary island. Men to whom birth had allotted these possessions looked with complacency on sumptuous apartments and luxurious food, and those ceremonials of delusive majesty which surround the throne of power

and the court of wealth. Men from whom these things were withheld by their condition began again to gaze with stupid envy on their pernicious splendour, and by desiring the false greatness 725 of another's state to sacrifice the intrinsic majesty of their own. The demagogues of the infant republic of the Christian sect attaining, through eloquence or artifice to influence among its members, first violated, under the pretence of watching over their integrity, the institutions established for the common and equal benefit of all. These demagogues artfully silenced the voice of the moral sense among them by engaging them to attend not so much to the cultivation 730 of a virtuous and happy life in this mortal scene as to the attainment of a fortunate condition after death; not so much to the consideration of those means by which the state of man is adorned and improved as [to] an enquiry into the secrets of the connection between God and the world, things which they well knew were not to be explained or even to be conceived. The system of equality which they established, necessarily fell to the ground, because it is a system that must 735 result from, rather than precede[,] the moral improvement of human kind. It was a circumstance of no moment that the first adherents of the system of Jesus Christ cast their property into a common stock. The same degree of real community of property could have subsisted without this formality, which served only to extend a temptation of dishonesty to the treasurers of so considerable a patrimony. Every man, in proportion to his virtue, considers himself, with respect 740 to the great community of mankind[,] as the steward and guardian of their interests in the property which he chances to possess. Every man, in proportion to his wisdom[,] sees the manner in which it is his duty to employ the resources which the consent of mankind has entrusted to his discretion. Such is the annihilation of the unjust inequality of powers and conditions existing in the world, and so gradually and inevitably is the progress of equality accommodated to the 745 progress of wisdom and of virtue among mankind. Meanwhile some benefit has not failed to flow from the imperfect attempts which have been made to erect a system of equal rights to property and power upon the basis of arbitrary institutions. They have undoubtedly in every case from the very instability of their foundation failed. Still they constitute a record of those epochs at which a true sense of justice suggested itself to the understandings of men, so that 750 they consented to forgo all the cherished delights of luxury[,] all the habitual gratifications arising out of the possession or the expectations of power, all the superstitions which the accumulated authority of ages had made dear and venerable to them. They are so many trophies erected in the enem[y's] land, to mark the limits of the victorious progress of truth and justice. (*MS. Shelley e. 4, ff. 32<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>*) 755

[37] Jesus Christ did not fail to advert to the. . . . (*MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 33<sup>v</sup>*)

• • • • •



### TEXTUAL NOTES

Lines 4-5 *to a certain...his doctrines.*: Omitted in 1859 and J.

Line 5 *[imbued...doctrines.]*: MS. has *imbued in some slightest degree by the spirit of his doctrines* cancelled.\*  
*He is the God: he is the hero, the God*, 1859.

Line 15 *Pan who* — : In the MS. there is a two-page blank after this, then follows the section entitled "God". J. has *Pan who* and supplies "may" after "who", then prints MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, ff. 277<sup>r</sup>-278<sup>v</sup> ("be a God or man...lost the" —paragraphs [4]-[7] of the present text).

Paragraphs [2]-[7] : Not included in 1859. J. omits paragraphs [2] and [3] and the first two-thirds of paragraph [4] (MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 276<sup>v</sup>) and the last four-fifths of paragraph [7] (MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 279<sup>v</sup>) and the last four-fifths of paragraph [7] (MS. Shelley adds. c. 4, f. 279<sup>v</sup>). See note on line 15 above.

Line 19 *for* : Left thus blank in the MS.

Line 26 *stern* : *stren* MS.

Line 41 *[R]oman* : *roman* MS.; *Roman* J.

Line 42 *world, and power* : *world power and* J.

Line 50 *natural* : *national* J.

Line 54 *prerogative* : *prerogation* J.

Line 55 *inclined* : *untuned* J.  
*minutest* : *smallest* J.

Line 56 *pursuer* : *presence* J.

Line 63 *Meanwhile* : *The meanwhile* J.

Line 65 *an unconnected state* : In the MS. the following passage occurs after this, separated by two horizontal lines from the preceding and the following parts: "The dominion which Rome had usurped over the civilized world was essentially iniquitous. It was procured by a series of aggressions, and preserved by sanguinary despotism." J. takes this to be meant for a note on the first sentence of paragraph [7], but Shelley's intention is not clear; if it is intended as a note, it seems more appropriate for the sentence in paragraph [5], beginning "A race of despicable..."

Line 66 *Rome and of the Greek republics* : *the Roman republic* J. Shelley first wrote "the Roman republic" and then added an "s" to "republic" and wrote "Rome and of the Greek" over "the Roman".

Line 68 *lost the* : Left thus blank in the MS.

Line 69 *tranquillize* : *tranquillizes* MS.

Line 77 *of opinions* : *of the springs of which opinions* MS.

Line 80 *[S]toics* : *stoics* MS.

Line 85 *Roman virtue* : MS. goes on: *Meanwhile some impulse was*

Paragraphs [8] and [9] : J. entitles these 'The Moral Teaching of Jesus Christ' and puts them at the end of the whole essay. Not included in 1859.

Paragraph [10] : J. prints this as a separate fragment with the title 'On the Doctrines of Christ'. Not included in 1859.

Line 88 *number* : *numbers* J.

Line 94 *internal* : *external* J.

Line 97 *disqualifications* : *disqualification* J.

---

\* MSS. are quoted by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

- Line 103 *that which* : *than [that] which* J.  
*and they* : *and that they* J.
- Lines 103-4 *invite us to* : Left thus blank in the MS.
- Line 104 *reason, are luxurious* : *reason with envious* J.  
*[existence]* : Cancelled in the MS. but no substitute provided.
- Line 106 *[R]epublic* : *republic* MS., J.
- Line 110 *had said* : *said* J.
- Line 111 *new* : *their* J.  
*[ ? ]* : MS. indecipherable; *claimed* J; *advanced* E. B. Murray (*Keats-Shelley Journal*, XXVI [1977], 17).
- Line 114 *[are]* : Cancelled in the MS., and omitted in J.
- Line 115 *[R]epublic* : *republic* MS., J. MS. goes on: *and*
- Paragraph [11] : MS. has before this the following title and note: "To belong to some other Part/ Introduction." which 1859 omits and J. prints.
- Line 146 *[in]* : *to* cancelled MS.
- Line 152 *malicious!* : *malicious?!* MS.; *malicious*. J.
- Line 156 *of the object* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 159 *or deceit* : *nor deceit* 1859.
- Line 162 *serene* : *severe* 1859.
- Line 163 *hated* : *hate* 1859.
- Lines 169-70 *We ought* : "Bacon" written over this in the MS.
- Line 171 *of speech* : *speech* 1859.
- Line 172 *place* : *taken place* 1859.
- Line 178 *Lord Bacon* : *Bacon* 1859.
- Line 180 *bears* : *have* 1859.
- Line 181 *depicturing* : *depicting* 1859.  
*those words* : *these words* 1859.
- Line 184 *the most heroic* : *most heroic* 1859.  
*His story* : *History* 1859.
- Line 185 *be* : *be made* 1859, J.
- Lines 185-7 *his prejudice* : *prejudice* 1859.
- Line 186 (Shelley's note) : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 187 *his deceit* : *deceit* 1859.
- Line 192 *it is supposed* : *[it] is supposed* 1859.
- Line 193 *attend him* : *attend on him* 1859.
- Line 202 *deduced* : *adduced* 1859.
- Lines 210-1 *I am not come* : *I am come not* 1859.
- Line 212 *pass from* : *pass away from* 1859.
- Line 225 *this practise of entire* : *the practice of utter* 1859.
- Line 227 *required* : *require* 1859.
- Line 228 *mind in which* : *mind on which* 1859.
- Line 231 *[law]* : Cancelled in the MS.; *law* 1859, J.
- Line 233 *The conclusion of the speech* : Shelley probably refers to *Matthew*, 5 : 43-48.
- Lines 233-4 *the speech* : Left thus blank in the MS. 1859 ignores the blank.

Bodleian Shelley MSS. Re-examined : A Re-edited Text of Some of Shelley's Prose  
Works in the Bodleian MSS. (II)

- Line 234 *impassioned* : *impassionate* 1859.
- Line 237 *chains* : *claims* 1859.
- Lines 238-9 *become the imitators and ministers* : *receive the imitator and minister* 1859.
- Line 240 *GOD* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 248 *influencings* : *influences* 1859.
- Line 249 *interes[ting]* : *[interesting]* 1859.
- Line 251 (Shelley's notes) : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 254 *studied* : *[studied]* 1859.
- Line 258 *Ecclesiastes* : *Ecclesiastes* 1859.
- Line 259 *made* : *[had] made* 1859.
- Line 261 *Not harsh or grating, but* : The accurate quotation should have been "Nor harsh nor grating, though".
- Line 271 *interfused* : *[interpoint]* 1859.
- Line 272 *[It is important]* : Cancelled in the MS. but no substitute provided; *It is important* 1859.
- Line 277 *passion[.]* : MS. goes on: *and capable*—— Two-line blank after this in the MS. with a note "Insert < ". I could not find anything in the MSS. that may fit in here. I cannot agree with A. H. Koszul (*Shelley's Prose in the Bodleian Manuscripts*, p. 20 n. 1) who argues that a passage in MS. Shelley e. 4, f. 12 may be intended for this blank.
- Line 282 *judgement of* : *judgements, of* 1859.
- Lines 284 and 285 [?] : Only a full stop in the MS.
- Line 289 [ — ] : Only a full stop in the MS.
- Line 290 *a[n]* : *as* MS.  
*it* : *and* 1859.
- Line 291 *a* *poet* : Left thus blank in the MS.; *a poet* 1859.  
*not the less literally true, clearly repugnant* : *not the less literally true [because] clearly repugnant* 1859; *the less literally true, clearly repugnant* J. A. H. Koszul (*op. cit.*, p. 17 n. 2) argues for the removal of "not", because he believes the statement here contradicts Shelley's condemnation later in this essay of literal interpretation of Jesus Christ's sayings. I think, however, that what Shelley had in mind when he wrote this is the phrase "virtue is its own reward" which occurs a few lines earlier and that he only wanted to emphasize what he had just said.
- Line 295 *simple and sincere* : *simple, sincere* 1859.
- Line 296 *an indispensable* : *the indispensable* 1859.
- Line 301 *solitary* : *softened* 1859.
- Line 304 *Whoever* : *Whosoever* 1859.
- Line 306 *who is that* : *whosoever is that* 1859.
- Line 310 *arbiters* : Written over "rulers", which is not cancelled, in the MS.  
*masters* : "arbiters" written over this in the MS.
- Line 313 *breath* : Underlined in the MS.  
*imperial* : Underlined in the MS.  
*stupendous* : Underlined in the MS.
- Line 315 *indeed* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 316 *omnipresent* : *omnipotent* 1859.
- Line 317 [ *a* ] : Omitted in the MS.
- Line 323 *institutor* : *nature* 1859.

- Lines 323-4 *Thucydides in particular...establish this opinion [—]* : *Thucydides, in particular, affords a number of instances calculated*— 1859; omitted in J. The Greek quotation which follows is omitted both in 1859 and J. It is from Thucydides's *History*, I, xxii, 1. Accents were supplied by the present editor. The Loeb translation of the Greek is : “As to the speeches that were made by different men...it has been difficult to recall with strict accuracy the words actually spoken, both for me as regards that which I myself heard, and for those who from various other sources have brought me reports. Therefore the speeches are given in the language in which, as it seemed to me, the several speakers would express, on the subjects under consideration, the sentiments most befitting the occasion, though at the same time I have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said.”
- Line 329 *hold* : *held* 1859.
- Lines 334-5 (the Latin quotation) : An adaptation of *Pharsalia*, IX, 578-580 : “Estne dei sedes, nisi terra et pontus et aer/ Et caelum et virtus? superos quid quaerimus ultra? Iuppiter est, quodcumque vides, quodcumque moveris.” (“Has he any dwelling-place save earth and sea, the air of heaven and virtuous hearts? Why seek we further for deities? All that we see is God; every motion we make is God also.”—the Loeb translation.)
- Line 339 *seems to have...its shapes* : *in all its shapes, seems to have been contemplated* 1859. Cf. A. H. Koszul, *op. cit.*, p. 20 n. 2.
- Line 348-9 *influencings* : *influences* 1859.
- Lines 359-360 [*do good...persecute you*’—] : Left blank in J. as in the MS. 1859 ignores the blank, thus : *curse you :’ such, he says, is*
- Line 367 *action is to be just* : *action; [this] is to be just* 1859.
- Line 369 *Enslaved to the usurpation of these rulers* : *Enslaved by the usurpation of these rulers* J. 1859 omits this phrase.
- Line 372 *slay and torture* : “slay” and “torture” are underlined in the MS. 1859 omits “and torture”.
- Line 374 [*enormous*] : Cancelled in the MS. but nothing substituted in its place. 1859 omits it.
- Line 380 *in inextinguishable* : *inextinguishable* 1859.
- Lines 379-380 *venerable and dear* : “venerable” and “dear” are underlined in the MS.
- Line 382 *father and their friend* : Underlined in the MS. Shelley wrote “note” over “friend” but he failed to give one.
- Line 390 *and upon the unjust* : *and unjust* 1859.
- Line 393 *inaccessible even to the influencings* : *inaccessible to the influences* 1859.
- Line 397 *power of good* : *Power of God* 1859.
- Line 398 [*Power*] : Cancelled and followed by an interrogation mark in the MS.; *Power* 1859, J. *or through* : *and through* 1859.
- Line 399 *models* : “clothes” written over this in the MS.
- Line 407 *benevolent* : *beneficent* 1859.
- Line 414 *neither hear nor see*, : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 415 [*to*] : Omitted in the MS.
- Lines 415-6 *the grave where ‘there is [no work...nor wisdom.]’* : *graves; where then?* 1859; J. has *the grave where ‘there is* followed by a blank as in the MS.
- Line 422 *the evil spirit* : *evil spirits* 1859.
- Line 425 *var[i]es* : *varyes* MS.
- Line 430 *affections* : *feelings* 1859.

Bodleian Shelley MSS. Re-examined : A Re-edited Text of Some of Shelley's Prose  
Works in the Bodleian MSS. (II)

- Line 431 *venerable* : [*venerable*] 1859.
- Line 432 *did excite* : [*excite*] 1859.
- Line 436 *the nature of our being* : Omitted in 1859 and J.
- Lines 437-8 *How magnificent and illustrious is* : *How magnificent is* 1859.
- Line 444 *it framed* : *is framed* 1859.
- Line 445 *mortal* : *morbid* 1859.
- Line 453 *The most...revenge* : Omitted in 1859 and J.  
*[spirit]* : Cancelled in the MS.  
*has been* : *had been* 1859.
- Line 454 *Retaliation* : *Retaliation of injuries* 1859; but "of injuries" is cancelled in the MS.
- Line 469 *contain[ed]* : *contained [destroyed]* 1859; [*was*] *containing* J. MS. leaves the sentence unfinished, thus:  
"containing the markets temples with the statues & columns & the ?tracery".
- Lines 476-7 *deluded and goaded to mutual ruin* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 479 *knowledge on* : *knowledge in* 1859.
- Line 480 *on which* : *upon which* 1859.  
*the power and happiness* : *happiness & the power* MS.
- Line 486 *is apparent* : *are apparent* 1859.
- Line 492 *professes to recognize* : *recognizes* 1859.
- Line 493 *to regard* : *regards* 1859.
- Lines 494-5 *so long as* : *so that* 1859.
- Lines 495-6 *Such are the only...of law* : Omitted in 1859. In the MS. there is a blank of a third of a page after this. 1859 ignores the blank.
- Line 496 *reason* : [*true*] *reason* J.
- Line 497 *this horrible legacy* : *the legacy* 1859; *the horrible legacy* J.
- Line 500 *mysterious* : *invisible, mysterious* 1859; *invisible mysterious* J. In the MS. "mysterious" is written over "invisible", an alternative, I take, to "invisible".
- Lines 500-1 *and object* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 501 *perfectness* : *perfection* 1859.  
*the nation* : *that nation* 1859.
- Line 503 *[has] been considered* : *have been considered* MS.; *is considered* 1859.
- Lines 506-7 *opinions, and from the actions and opinions which* : *opinions, which* 1859 ; *opinions which* J.
- Line 509 *required* : *requires* 1859, J.
- Line 510 *are* : *is* 1859, J.
- Line 512 *itself* : *himself* 1859.
- Line 513 *estimated* : "measured" is written over this in the MS.  
*abstract* : Underlined in the MS.  
*perfection* : Underlined in the MS.
- Line 514 *[be]* : Omitted in the MS.; *be* 1859.
- Line 515 *as of Jesus* : *as Jesus* 1859, J.
- Line 540 *upon of* : *upon* 1859.
- Line 547 *laws* : *law* 1859. J.
- Line 548 *property* [, etc.] : *property and* J.
- Line 549 *slave* : *the slave* 1859.
- Line 550 *worth* : *worth*, MS.

- really*: Omitted in 1859.
- Line 555 *yield in* : Left thus blank in the MS. 1859 fills the blank with “in meek reverence”.
- Line 557 [*O*]: *o* MS. Omitted in 1859.
- Line 558 *possessors*: *possessions* 1859, J.  
*Circumscribe*: *Decrease* 1859, J.
- Line 559 *beasts*: *beast* 1859.
- Line 561 *subserviency*: *subserviency and oppression* 1859. In the MS. “oppression” is written over “subserviency”.
- Line 563 *ye love on[e] [a]nother*: *ye live [wisely]* 1859.
- Line 566 *of philosophy and mankind. If*: *of philosophy, and if* 1859; *of philosophy and — If* J. In the MS. thus: “of mankind. philosophy & — If”.
- Line 569 *peace*: *power* 1859.
- Line 572 *as friends*: *friends* 1859.
- Line 574 *nations and cities and*: *nations, societies* 1859.
- Line 578 *indirect*: *evident* 1859.
- Line 587 *and slavery[,] ministers*: *and [curb the] ministers* 1859.
- Lines 590-1 *men have made themselves*: *you have made yourselves* 1859.
- Line 593 *nothing valuable or desirable but what*: *nothing so valuable or desirable [as] what* 1859.
- Line 596 *blind and habitual*: *blind, habitual* 1859.
- Line 597 *is contemplated by its*: *are contemplated by the* 1859.
- Line 599 *torpor and* : Left thus blank in the MS. 1859 fills the blank with “indifference”.
- Line 601 *admired*: *admitted* 1859.
- Line 605 *leisure*: *reason* 1859.
- Lines 607-8 *He will consider ... τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ*: Omitted in 1859.  
 (the Greek quotation): From Diogenes Laertius, VI, 72. Accents were supplied by the present editor. The Loeb translation of the Greek is: “good birth and fame...showy ornaments of vice[,] [t]he only true commonwealth...that which is as wide as the universe.”
- Line 609 [*in which*]: Cancelled in the MS. but nothing substituted.
- Line 614 *on the practise*: *the practice* 1859.
- Line 623 [, etc.]: Left blank in J. as in the MS. 1859 ignores the blank.  
*thought for the morrow*: *thought for to-morrow* 1859.
- Line 625 *which [it] empy[s]*: *which they employ* MS.; *it employs* 1859; *which it employs* J.
- Line 626 *here*: Omitted in 1859 and J.  
*than [that] it were*: *than [to imagine that] it were* 1859; *than it were* J.
- Line 636 *overgrown*: “overshadowed” written over this in the MS.
- Lines 643-4 *honour*: *power* 1859.
- Line 656 *invocated*: [*impelled*] 1859.
- Lines 657-665 *Ye can expend...human nature! The man who...can contain.*: *The man who...can contain. Ye can expend...human nature!* 1859, J. I agree with A. H. Koszul in thinking that the notations in the MS. show Shelley’s intention of reversing the order of the two passages. See A. H. Koszul, *op. cit.*, p. 48 n. 3.
- Line 658 *mechanisms*: *mechanism* 1859, J.
- Line 662 *this wonderful*: *the wonderful* 1859, J.
- Line 664 [*be*]: Omitted in the MS.; *be* 1859, J.

Bodleian Shelley MSS. Re-examined : A Re-edited Text of Some of Shelley's Prose  
Works in the Bodleian MSS. (II)

- Lines 666-7 *beautiful in your* : *beautiful in pure* 1859.
- Line 675 *[system]* : Cancelled in the MS. but no substitute supplied.
- Line 679 *pervert* : *prevent* 1859.
- Line 684 *the insidious* : *an insidious* 1859.
- Line 692 *without mixture and* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 693 *indeed* : *in truth* 1859  
*to the* : Left thus blank in the MS. 1859 fills the blank with "Saturnian".
- Line 695 *the parents* : *parents* 1859, J.  
*mysterious* : *man's* 1859.
- Lines 698-9 *Jesus Christ foresaw...imagined* : Footnote for the preceding sentence in 1859 and J., but there is nothing in the MS. which indicates Shelley's intention of making this a footnote.
- Line 701 *among mankind* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 702 *more, or more universal knowledge* : *more universal knowledge* 1859, J. Koszul (*op. cit.*, p. 51 n. 6) thought that Shelley forgot to put some adjective after the first "more", so he was forced to remove it from his text. My interpretation is that Shelley used it in the sense of "a larger amount of".
- Line 707 *other* : *other*, MS.
- Line 712 *and he...* : In the MS. there is a blank of a third of a page after "he". 1859 completes the sentence thus: "and he went away sorrowing."
- Line 714 *Christ's* : *Jesus Christ's* 1859, J. There is no "Jesus", however, in the MS.
- Line 722 *these* : *ample* 1859.
- Line 725 *their* : Omitted in 1859.
- Line 726 *majesty* : *dignity* 1859.
- Line 744 *annihilation* : *[annihilation]* 1859.
- Line 745 *world, and so* : *world; and so* 1859; *world, so* J.
- Line 749 *very* : Omitted in 1859.  
*foundation* : *formation* 1859.
- Line 752 *expectations* : *expectation* 1859.
- Lines 752-3 *which the accumulated...to them* : *with which the accumulated authority of ages had made them dear and venerable* 1859.

Received July 20, 1983.